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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the effects of apartheid on higher education in South Africa and formulates strategies to restructure post-apartheid higher education for the greatest educational development for all South Africans. It explains that South Africa's apartheid system deliberately structured education to provide a well-funded system for whites at direct expense to other groups. These inequalities were further entrenched through a "Christian National Education" ideology which permeated curriculum and the cultures of learning. Inequalities have produced various degrees of educational disadvantage. Many institutions currently want to enroll more and more black students but in the process confront the consequences of apartheid education and so experience a tension between growth and diversity and maintaining quality education. The first step in response is to develop a strategy for educational development priorities for institutions that classifies institutions between two polar types. Classification then allows institutions to select appropriate educational development initiatives which usually take the form of either academic support for students or academic development for faculty. A series of core access initiatives, educational effectiveness approaches, and resource deployment strategies are listed and described. (Contains 22 references.) (JB)

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DEVELOPING PRIORITIES AND STRATEGIES TO MEET THE CHALLENGE: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-APARTHEID UNIVERSITIES

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Pittsburgh Hilton and Towers, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 4-7, 1993. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

DEVELOPING PRIORITIES AND STRATEGIES TO MEET THE CHALLENGE: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-APARTHEID UNIVERSITIES

George Pavlich, Mark Orkin and Carla Spinola

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

South Africa's apartheid legacy has left imprints on virtually all aspects of society. For instance, through the Bantu Education Act, education was deliberately structured to provide a well-funded system for whites at the direct expense - to varying degrees - of Africans, coloureds and Asians. At schools, these inequalities were further entrenched through a pervasive "Christian National Education" ideology which permeated curricula and the cultures of learning. Many black students rejected the entire system as promoting subservience, and manifest their discontent has in ongoing revolts, demonstrations and boycotts.[1] In the absence of an accepted state response, the apartheid schooling system continues to face an endemic crisis which has fundamental and diverse effects on tertiary education.

The inequalities in the education systems have resulted in different degrees of educational disadvantage. A glimpse at the state of black matriculation results bears testimony to this observation. In 1992 the matriculation pass rates were 42% for

[1] Jansen, 1990; Hartshorne, 1992; Orkin, 1983; Maurice, 1983.

African students, 86% for coloured, 95% for Indian and 98% for whites.[2] In addition, there are very few African students who matriculate with higher grade mathematics and science (with a D+ symbol) each year.[3] Therefore many students do not fulfil the eligibility requirements of the Science, Commerce and Engineering faculties. Secondly, matriculation results, especially those at the lower end of the spectrum from DET schools, are not reliable predictors of competence at university. Thirdly, many African students speak English or Afrikaans as a second language. These students do not acquire sufficient language skills in school to cope with the linguistic demands of university programmes.

Together with others, these factors limit access to university for black students. Students emerging from DET schooling are those most severely disadvantaged by the unequal provision of education at school. Few are eligible for admission to university through standard admission channels on the basis of their matriculation results. Of those who are eligible, most are accepted into Arts, Humanities and Social Science Faculties. In order to equalize such disparities, and to provide equal opportunities for all students, many universities have recognized the need for alternative means of identifying potential student competence as well as providing additional support after registration.

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[2] Personal communication, SA Institute of Race Relation. The rates exclude the results of supplementary examinations which normally raise pass rates for African scholars by a few percentage points.

[3] Agar, Hofmeyr and Moulder, 1991, p3

As in the schools, apartheid practices in tertiary education have been regulated by statute. The earliest universities to be established in South Africa targeted white students, although they were theoretically open to all students. However, because of their subordinate social location, few black students achieved the necessary secondary educational qualifications or could afford the costs. University governance took a new turn in 1959 with the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act.[4] The Act stated that university education was to be offered separately along the lines of race or ethnic group, and as a result several institutions catering for black students were established. The Act further stipulated that black students seeking to study at white universities obtain permission from the Minister of Education before their applications could be considered. This so-called "permit system" dramatically limited access to universities such as the University of the Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Natal and the University of Cape Town (UCT) that were "open" to such applications. For example, at UCT there was only one African student out of a total enrolment of 7 575 in 1970 and only 71 African students out of a total of 10 383 in 1980.[5]

The permit system was revised in 1983 under pressure from various segments of the population. By yet another act of parliament, the Minister of Education was given the power to determine "racial quotas" for the different universities. The government argued that this amounted to a relaxing of apartheid legislation. Several of the universities protested that the government was merely handing over the

[4] See Murray, 1990, for a more detailed account of one institution's attempt to defy these measures.

[5] Personal communication with a senior administrator.

implementation of apartheid practices to the universities themselves. The Minister accordingly refrained from specifying quotas.

The diversification process of tertiary institutions has a long and difficult road ahead. The table below gives figures for all post-secondary education, as well as those for the universities alone, for 1991. It shows that while 35 out of every 1 000 white people were at university in that year, the equivalent figure for the African population was 6. Overall, because of higher birth rates and shorter life expectancy among Africans, the profile of the South African population is such that Africans figure disproportionately in the younger age groups. Because of this age distribution, the proportions of those attending post-secondary institutions calculated on the appropriate age groups are even more unequal than those shown in the table. Total post-secondary enrolment among whites was equal to 60% of those aged between 18 and 22 years, while the percentage for Africans was 9%.

Table 1. : South African post-secondary enrolments in 1991[6]

Population group	Total PSE enrolments per 1000 of 1991 population	University enrolments per 1000 of 1991 population	Total PSE enrolled as % of population aged 18-22
White	51	35	60%
Coloured	13	7	11%
Indian	35	25	33%
African	9	6	9%
Average	18	12	17%

[6] National Education Policy Investigation, 1992, p21

The 1959 Act succeeded in establishing a situation where each institution served students who came predominantly from a single racial group. Separation of facilities went together with marked inequalities. Provision was in no ways "separate but equal". Staff-student ratios are far more favourable at the institutions intended for whites. The ratio of full-time equivalent (FTE) students to staff in 1989 was 14,3 for historically white residential universities and 22,3 for other residential universities.[7] The average unit cost per FTE enrolled student in 1990 at historically white universities was 66% higher than that at the black residential universities, reflecting better staff proportions and material facilities.

There are also significant differences in the per capita income at the different universities. For example UCT's overall income was R21 600 per student in 1990 compared to R10 000 at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and R8 300 at the University of the North. Inequality has been accentuated by differing growth rates. The historically black universities have grown at a faster rate than the white universities. Thus enrolments at UWC grew at an average annual rate of 16,4% between 1986 and 1991, those at the African, non-TBVC universities at a rate of 13,6%, Durban-Westville at a rate of 6,7% and those at the historically white university at only 4,4%.[8] The formula by which the government calculates its subsidy to each institution has been pegged on 1986 student populations and has therefore penalised those that have grown most rapidly.

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[7] NEPI, 1992, p33

[8] National Education Policy Investigation, 1992, p24

These differences compound the existing differences in the economic situations of black and white students. Most black students are not only educationally disadvantaged, but also experience other systemic disadvantages (especially economic). In general those at the historically black universities have backgrounds even more economically disadvantaged than those at the historically white institutions. In this context, the requirement to increase the number of black people at all levels of tertiary institutions - staff, students and graduates - is absolute. Failing to do so amounts to discrimination, because this would simply ignore the vast effects of apartheid's systematic efforts to engineer a racially unequal society. Educational development, in all its various aspects, is a response to this.[5]

A RESPONSE: TERTIARY EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The consequences of inadequate primary and secondary schooling follow the students through to tertiary institutions. Most tertiary institutions want to admit more black students so that their enrolments reflect the national population composition. However, the more black students they admit, the more they confront the consequences of apartheid education. Many institutions thus currently experience

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[5] To clarify, we shall use *educational development* to refer to both *access* and *effectiveness* initiatives. Access initiatives include various programmes to increase the diversity of
institutions by rendering institutions more accessible to those that have previously been excluded. Attempts to increase the effectiveness of institutions include both academic support (directed at students) and academic development (directed at changing the institution) programmes that aim to increase the retention and graduation rates of black students.

tensions between growth and diversity on the one hand, and maintaining quality in education on the other. This taps into the difficult issue to which they are responding: *balancing the demands for diversity and quality in a context of limited resources.* As Richardson and Skinner - in another context - point out, quality and diversity are not mutually exclusive concepts; they may even be mutually constitutive in that diversity implies quality and *vice versa*. With this in mind, the aim for institutions must be to maximize both quality and diversity, and this implies the further need to allocate and use limited resources as effectively as possible. This aim is silhouetted against the wider goal of redressing general apartheid inequities on scale that involves, but also transcends, particular tertiary institutions.

The formulation of effective policy in such an environment entails a delicate balancing act which maximizes the impact of differing resource levels available to respond to different institutional contexts. For analysts located within particular institutions, this is an extremely difficult task. Most do not have adequate diversity and quality information within, and far less comparatively across, institutions.

The ensuing paper offers policy analysts a way of approaching the above problem by employing a conceptual framework that has emerged out of case study research - in which the present authors were involved - of seven tertiary institutions.[10] This study is - to our knowledge at least - the first attempt to detail the vast educational development activities within seven tertiary institutions, before then making the

[10] See Pavlich, Orkin and Budlender (eds), 1993, hereafter cited as "Pavlich et al."

ensuing stride to formulate cross-case theoretical statements. Using this study as a reference point, we shall attempt to develop a two-stage policy formulation strategy of use to policy analysts working within particular institutions.

A TWO-STAGE POLICY FORMULATING STRATEGY

The first step in the proposed strategy is for analysts to formulate educational development priorities for institutions in specific sets of circumstances. To assist in this process, we use the ideal typology that Pavlich *et al*'s have developed through comparisons across their case studies. This provides comparative information that allows analysts to make more informed judgements on priority areas. The next step in the proposed strategy is for analysts to make decisions about the most effective ways of deploying educational development resources. Here, again, the Pavlich *et al* study provides theoretical evidence pointing to the kinds of educational development (i e., both access and effectiveness) responses that have proved valuable in particular contexts. Clearly this strategy takes seriously the realization that there is no universally appropriate educational development policy: different institutional contexts require different initiatives to redress the specific effects of the general crisis which impinge upon them at specific times.

Stage 1: Typological Classification

As is the case with all ideal type formulations, types (i.e. composite characterizations) are unlikely to apply entirely to any given context. However, types do offer heuristic frameworks that can help to attain greater conceptual precision. Pavlich, *et al* locate

the institutions of their study along a continuum between two polar types (see Table II below). At the one extreme, there are universities that come out of traditions that emphasize academic excellence. These institutions stress staff research activities and tend to admit, through selective admissions procedures, students that have high achievement records. Typically, these polar type I institutions have invested in academic support initiatives that provide prior course educational development. The underlying assumption here tends to be that students (especially from disadvantaged educational backgrounds) require supplementary instruction to cope with the academic standards required of them.

At the other extreme of the polar typology, Pavlich *et al* refer to institutions that see themselves as service organizations with less restrictive (and even open) recruitment/admissions procedures than those of polar type I institutions. Polar type II institutions tend to emphasize quality teaching, encouraging staff and curriculum development initiatives that are infused via local departmental structures. The emphasis here is on academic development programmes geared to transform the institution to better serve its identified clients.

Table I: Polar Typology

	Tradition	Recruitment	Emphasis	Effective-ness Strategy	Preferred Model
Polar Type I	excellence	selective	research	adapt student (academic support)	prior courses
Polar Type II	service	open	teaching	adapt institution (academic development)	infused initiatives

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Pavlich *et al* locate the six universities they studied along this polar typology. In particular, the established historically white universities (the University of the Witwatersrand, UCT) are identified as approximating polar type I institutions. Conversely, the two historically black universities (UWC and UNIN) are said to more or less tend towards polar type II institutions. Between the polar type extremes stretches a continuum on which other universities (The University of Natal, Durban and the University of the Orange Free State) are located.

It is important to recognize that the polar types reflect existing tendencies which need not be mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it might plausibly be argued that all institutions should strive to reflect most aspects of *both* polar types I and II to maximize their impact on the wider crises briefly depicted above. In other words, institutions should strive to deploy their resources to enhance both excellence and service, research and teaching, academic support and development (with both prior courses and infused initiatives as appropriate). Clearly, the exception here is recruitment, where a balance between the extremes to suit contextual requirements seems most appropriate.

With this in mind, the point of locating institutions on this continuum becomes clearer. It provides analysts with a means by which to make comparatively informed judgements about areas of educational development in need of expansion in specific contexts. Through such comparisons, the specific priorities facing a given institution are highlighted. For example, were an institution, on the basis of research, to find that it is closely aligned to polar type I, then diversity issues are likely to present

themselves as priorities. That is, because of their focus on excellence, research, and selective recruitment, such institutions are unlikely - in the South African situation - to have admitted proportionately large numbers of black (especially African) students. Therefore, to increase the diversity of the institution's student profile would require initiatives to increase its access to black students.

Conversely, a polar type II institution will likely have encountered very acutely, and be dealing with, the effects of apartheid schooling. In such a context, effectiveness issues would seem to be immediate priorities. Thus, as a necessary complement to its more or less open admission policies, a type II institution would undoubtedly have to focus on educational effectiveness programmes in an effort to retain and graduate its diverse student profile.

Institutions located between these polar types will require a somewhat more subtle approach to developing priority lists. For instance, suppose a university is closer to pole I on tradition and recruitment but nearer pole II on emphasis, effectiveness strategy and preferred model. Here, depending on context, it would seem that access initiatives might be prioritized alongside certain academic support programmes (e.g., residence programmes) to help students cope with the changing institutional context (i.e., as a result of academic development programmes). Or, consider the case of an institution with type I effectiveness strategies and preferred model, but with a type II emphasis on service, openness and teaching. Here, analysts might prioritize attempts to develop a culture of academic excellence and research whilst also undertaking to infuse educational effectiveness initiatives in faculties where this has not occurred.

Here, as in all cases, the point is never to move the institution towards one pole at the expense of the other. Rather, the aim is to complement tendencies on one pole by prioritizing the missing aspects of the other pole. This is to echo no more than our original statement that the ideal of educational development is to increase both the diversity and quality of tertiary institutions. The aim of prioritizing deficient aspects within an institution is precisely to strive towards that goal."

Once educational development priorities have been formulated, the next task is to develop effective programmes to achieve prioritized objectives. Analysts are here most starkly confronted with the problem of deciding which kinds of programmes to deploy in response to contextual institutional deficits. This takes us to the second stage of our proposed policy formation strategy; namely, to make use of an existing theoretical model, developed across institutions, to help analysts decide which initiatives to develop. This policy formation strategy encourages analysts to refer to an accumulating set of experiences across institutional contexts in deciding which course of action to pursue. This, we believe, is useful since it offers a way of avoiding the *ad hoc*, reactive creation of educational development policies which has plagued many institutions.

" The formulation of educational development priorities, it should be emphasized is not only bound by context but also by time. Thus, once priorities have been established, and if instituted programmes are effective, then the nature of a given institution might shift. As such, the formulation of priorities is something that should be reviewed and reassessed regularly.

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Stage 2: Selecting Appropriate Educational Development Initiatives

Clearly, given the scope of the education crisis in South Africa, it is unlikely that educational development alone can address the enormity of the problems presented. However, there are two main areas of the crisis that universities are attempting to redress. First, many institutions have developed programmes and policies to increase access to students that have been disadvantaged through apartheid schooling practices. Through such efforts, they aim to increase the diversity of their student bodies. Secondly, in view of the disparate provisions in education, and the ensuing heterogeneous levels of preparedness of entering students, many institutions have formulated various specifically *educational effectiveness* programmes to try to accommodate students' different levels of preparedness. The overall aim here is to increase the numbers of black students among their graduates without compromising the quality of education provided. Educational effectiveness programmes typically take the form of either (i) developing the capacities of individual students (i.e., *academic support*) or (ii) attempt to transform the institution through staff and curriculum development (i.e., *academic development*).

Table II below is extracted from Pavlich *et al*, offering a synopsis of the theoretical model which was developed from extensive case study evidence. We shall offer more detailed analyses of each column in the following sections. However, an overall view of the integrated model indicates that the combined interaction of access and effectiveness initiatives, as well as the manner in which resources are deployed, ultimately determines the success of an institution's educational development responses. The all too difficult problem for policy analysts is therefore to effect

develop combinations of initiatives that are appropriate for given contexts, and which are most likely to realize prioritized objectives.

Table II: A Summary of Pavlich, *et al*'s Findings

INTERVENTIONS TO INCREASE ACCESS	INTERVENTIONS TO ENHANCE EFFECTIVENESS	THE EFFICIENT USE OF RESOURCES
Institutions take advantage of relaxed state apartheid practices (e.g. admission through discretionary categories).	***Academic Support***	The *scope* of resources allocated to educational development are prioritized.
Financial and public verbal support places access firmly on an institution's agenda.	Alternative student selection procedures are employed.	
Alternative admissions programmes are instituted.	Programme legitimacy is sought.	
Extra-academic support is rendered integral to increasing access.	Improved staffing structures and more diverse profiles are secured.	The *efficiency* with which resources are used is considered and evaluated on an ongoing basis.
Diversity is planned through special admissions.	Teaching and learning strategies appropriate to given contexts and numbers are employed.	
Refined admissions procedures are applied to all incoming students.	Inter- and intra- programme management is streamlined.	
Centrally coordinated outreach programmes are developed.	Extra-academic support is integrated into ASP activities (e.g. residence programmes).	
Regional and national articulations (both entry and exit) are developed across tertiary education institutions.	***Academic Development***	
	Staff development programmes are formalized and expanded.	
	Attempts are made to diversify academic staff profiles.	
	Greater emphasis is placed on resources to further curriculum development.	
	Relevant academic development research is encouraged.	

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Access Initiatives

In their case study analysis of access initiatives of institutions across various contexts, Pavlich *et al* identify a range of interventions have helped institutions to increase access to black students. In turn, this has had the effect - to varying degrees - of diversifying student profiles. The core initiatives are listed below.

1. Institutions increasingly open access to African students via discretionary categories afforded by relaxed apartheid practices.

2. Verbal and financial support from senior administrators increases the institution's overall commitment to increasing access. This is usually evidenced in the form of a mission statement.

3. Financial aid and accommodation become an integral part of strategies to increase access.

4. Research and experimentation is encouraged to identify students with the potential to become competent undergraduate students. The research is directed at future capacity and potential rather than past performance, as the latter is likely to have been affected by apartheid inequalities.

5. The growth of the student population is planned so as to take into account the need for diversification.

6. Special admission procedures are developed and refined.

7. Greater emphasis is placed on coordinated outreach efforts in secondary institutions to increase the diversity of competent applicants.

8. Regional articulations with other tertiary institutions (e.g. universities, technikons, vocational colleges and technical colleges) for both entering and existing students are developed.

None of the institutions so far examined has incorporated all of these interventions in their entirety, nor have they adopted them in uniform sequences. Nevertheless, in general, Pavlich *et al* identify the operation of a cumulative effect. In other words, as more of these interventions are deployed, and as their scope and efficiency is increased, institutions tend to reflect greater proportions of African student enrolments. This insight is of great use to policy analysts, since it can help them see what interventions are most likely to meet access objectives in context. So, if access initiatives are prioritized in the first stage of the proposed strategy, then analysts might compare an institution's existing access programmes with the above findings. This comparison would help to identify where in the institution access programmes could usefully be developed, or where existing initiatives expanded and/or rendered more efficient.

Educational Effectiveness

Academic Support

Pavlich *et al* offer a range of academic support initiatives that seek to develop student capacities in an optimal way. In general, academic support efforts have tended to move away from the early assumption that their task was to remedy deficits in student knowledge. Programmes now tend to focus on the positive task of working with existing student strengths in an effort to develop their capacities. There are a range of interventions that have increased various academic support programmes' abilities to fulfil this latter task. The more significant of these are summarized below.

1. Developing alternative student selection procedures is one way of enhancing the effectiveness of programmes. The point here is to identify competent students, regardless of their matriculation results, as programmes are then more likely to be successful in helping to graduate students. This is to say no more than that competent students are more likely to be successful at university.

2. The effectiveness of programmes depends in large measure upon whether they are regarded as legitimate by academic staff, academic support staff and by the students they serve. It is therefore crucial for support programmes to secure legitimacy amongst their stake holders. Also, the diversity of staff profiles should be increased.

3. Effectiveness is also related to the use of relevant learning technologies. The aim here must be to foster functional learning environments ranging from peer group learning, computer assisted learning, to tutorial discussion groups. Since there are different knowledge producing contexts at a university, appropriate academic support responses are likely to vary across faculties. That is, available evidence does not support the view that one academic support model is appropriate in all contexts. Rather, selecting an appropriate model of academic support depends on a number of contextual factors. The most important of these appear to be the type of knowledge involved and the number of students to whom such support is targeted.

4. The effectiveness of academic support initiatives is influenced by both intra- and inter-programme management structures. Structures should provide for centralised leadership positions which can plan the revision of the learning experiences an institution will provide. At the same time, however, support efforts must be integrated into the fabric of particular departments and faculties to yield a sense of ownership and responsibility. Available evidence suggests that the most effective management approach is a paradoxical one. Academic support programmes should be integrated into faculties and departments but must be centrally planned, coordinated and monitored.

5. The effectiveness of support programmes is related to whether or not students from disadvantaged economic and educational backgrounds are provided for in non-academic ways. The main areas in this respect are financial aid,

residence provisions, counselling services to place students in appropriate programmes, and orientation programmes.

Academic Development

The other aspect of educational effectiveness, namely academic development, focuses on changing the institution. It involves a series of activities that aim to change learning experiences for large numbers of students. As the number of students from educationally disadvantaged environments has increased, so educational development initiatives in many tertiary contexts have increasingly focused on institutional transformations. This aspect of educational effectiveness has yet to yield clear trends since most programmes are experimental in nature. Nevertheless, this is a promising arena and is likely to become even more significant as more institutions admit larger numbers of under-prepared students. At this stage, Pavlich *et al* (1993) reveal that effective planning, management and coordination of such efforts is crucial. The use of centralized infusion management structures offers a way to manage the deployment of academic development initiatives, and to deal with the questions of legitimacy that appear to plague so many existing academic development programmes.

Considered in tandem, policy analysts can refer to these findings when looking for ways to intervene in the educational effectiveness problem currently facing South African tertiary institutions. Although trends here are not quite as clear as appears to be the case with access interventions, the above themes provide important issues to

consider when deciding on ways to deploy academic support or academic development programmes.

Resource Deployment

As previously noted, analysts' choice of educational interventions to increase access and effectiveness are likely to be made context of very real material constraints. In such contexts it is not always possible to implement separate programmes on a scale that would address the enormity of educational disadvantage in South Africa. Therefore, in practice, it is often the case that resources must be selectively deployed with an eye to gaining maximum impact. Here it is essential to deploy resources with sufficient scope to meet prioritized objectives. It is also important to seek ways of introducing and managing these programmes that will maximize their impact. The latter point is crucial when one considers that many programmes are intended to achieve institutional change, and may thus encounter resistance from various sources. Sensitively managed and monitored interventions are most likely to achieve results.

As such, we deem the development of an evaluation ethos, where continuous programme assessment is encouraged, as a crucial element of any educational development programmes. Evaluation is essential to keeping track of, and indeed increasing, the efficiency with which resources are deployed. Hence the scope and efficiency of deployed resources should be continuously monitored through a combination of formative, process and summative evaluation. Such information is the

very kernel of planned policy making, allowing analysts to keep proper track of programme effects and to respond to such information.

CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion offers a framework from which analysts may work in developing effective educational development initiatives to redress the legacy of apartheid in different tertiary institutional contexts. It offers policy analysts a proposed policy formulation strategy with two distinct components. First, it outlines a strategy to identify, using comparative information, educational development priorities for particular institutions. Secondly, it refers analysts to a theoretical model, developed through detailed case study research, to help them decide which interventions to pursue in particular sets of circumstances. In short, our proposed strategy encourages analysts to specify educational development priorities for particular institutions, and then to plan the most effective ways of achieving these. We contend that such planned policy formation is crucial to attempts by South African education institutions to break from their apartheid past. Without coordinated strategies, institutions are likely to thrash about in the wastes of reactive, *ad hoc*, interventions. We have here offered one way of avoiding this.

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